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DHANAVAJRA VAJRĀCĀRYA

and

KAMAL P. MALLA

THE GOPĀLARĀJAVAMŚĀVALĪ

A facsimile edition prepared by the NEPAL RESEARCH CENTRE in collaboration with the NATIONAL ARCHIVES, Kathmandu. With an introduction, a transcription, Nepali and English translations, a glossary and indices.

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The Vamśāvalī King-lists

A careful analysis of the Vamśāvalī king-lists and comparison of these lists with positive chronology show certain basic syndromes.

The *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* has, for instance, the following kings who are not available in Kaisher Vamśāvalī or in Kirkpatrick or in the inscriptions: Campādeva, Jivagupta, Mānavarmā, Mahīpāla, Devaladeva, and Vasantadeva. Both Abridged Vamśāvalī and Kirkpatrick repeat Viṣṇugupta, Bhīmārjunadeva, Jayadeva and Baladeva, though with different regnal years.

Several kings available in the inscriptions are missing from the Vamśāvalī lists, such as Vāmanadeva, Rāmadeva, Gaṅgādeva, Dhruvadeva and Jayadeva II. On the other hand, we do not yet have any historical documents for several kings mentioned in these king-lists, such as Kṛtavarmā, Vardhamānadeva, Śaṅkaradeva, and Jayadeva III.

Similarly, for medieval period, the *Gopālarājavamśāvalī* commits the error of omission of 4 historically attested kings:

Śaṅkaradeva	NS 40
Nirbhayadeva	NS 125
Bhojadeva-Rudradeva	NS 132

The VK omits Jayadeva, the founder of the half kingdom of Lalitpur and Bhāskaradeva (NS 165-167), the refractory feudatory of Patan. Kirkpatrick omits Śaṅkaradeva (NS 189-203). Both Kirkpatrick and Abridged Vamśāvalī omit Guṇakāmadeva (NS 305-316), the legendary founder of Kathmandu.

Another major syndrome is one of divergence among the king-lists. For medieval period, the lists diverge on an interesting point: the inclusion or omission of the three early medieval kings:

Jayadeva : included in V_1 , omitted in VK, VG, and Kirkpatrick
Sahadeva : Omitted in V_1 , included in VK, VG, and Kirkpatrick
Vikramadeva: Omitted in VK and Kirkpatrick, included in V_1 , VG.

None of these three kings has so far been attested historically in any other documents. Whether they were contemporaries ruling two or three kingdoms, or joint rulers of the same kingdom, or rulers succeeding one after another is at present a subject of conjecture.

The Licchavis

VN has also
Mānadeva 45
VN

Gopālarājavamśāvalī

Abridged Vamśāvalī

Kirkpatrick

Viśvadeva 100
Mānadeva 41
Śaṅkaradeva 40
Dharmadeva 41
Mahideva 41
Vasantadeva 39
Udayadeva 45
Gaṇadeva 45
Guṇakāmadeva 50
Śivadeva 41.6
Campādeva 41.9
Narendradeva 34
Bhīmadeva 14
Jivagupta 74
Viṣṇugupta 71
Bhūmīgupta 45
Śivadeva 41
Amśuvarmā 43
Mānavarmā 65
Kṛtavarmā 76
Mahīpala
Devaladeva 10
Bhīmārjunadeva 35
Narendradeva 13
Śivadeva 16
Narendradeva 35
Baladeva 17
Vardhamānadeva 16
Śaṅkaradeva 12
Vasantadeva 21

Vṛṣadeva 57
Śaṅkaradeva 50
Dharmadeva 51
Mānadeva 39
Mahideva 51
Vasantadeva 56
Udayadeva 47
Mānadeva 45
Guṇakāmadeva 50
Śivadeva 41.6

Narendradeva 34
Bhīmadeva 16
Viṣṇugupta 74
Viṣṇugupta 61
Bhūmīgupta 45
Śivadeva 41
Amśuvarmā 53

Kṛtavarmā 18

Bhīmārjunadeva 37
Nandadeva 13
Śivadeva 16
Narīndradeva 37
Baladeva 17
Śaṅkaradeva 12
Vardhamānadeva 16
Śaṅkaradeva 12
Bhīmārjunadeva 16
Jayadeva 19
Baladeva 16

Brikh Deo 57
Sunker Deo 50
Bhurma Deo 51
Maun Deo 39
Mahe Deo 51
Bussunt Deo 56
Ondey Deo 47
Maun Deo 45
Sookaum Deo 50
Seo Deo 41.6

Nurredur Deo 34
Bhema Deo Burmah 16
Bishen Gupt 74
Kishnoo Gupt 61
Bhoomy Gupt 40
Seo Deo Burmah 41
Ungloo Burmah 42

Kirtoo Burmah 18

Bheem Arjoon Deo 39
Nund Deo 13
Seo Deo 16
Nurrender Deo 37
Bul Deo 17
Sunker Deo 12

Bhem Arjoon Deo 16
Jye Deo 19
Sree Bull Deo 16

Vṛṣadeva 57
Śaṅkaradeva 50
Dharmadeva 57
Mānadeva 39
Gaṇadeva
Mānadeva 45
Mānadeva

Viṣṇugupta 61
Bhūmīgupta 45
Amśuvarmā 43

Bhīmārjunadeva 37

Vardhamānadeva 16
Śaṅkaradeva 12 (Repetition)

Gopālarājavamśāvalī

Kaisher Vamśāvalī

Abridged Vamśāvalī

Kirkpatrick

Rudradeva 27
Jayadeva 42.5
Baladeva 11
Balārjunadeva 21.5
Mānadeva 36

(...de)va 26
Jayadeva 42.7
Baladeva 11
Balārjunadeva 21.5
Mānadeva 36

Candradeva 27
Jayadeva 42.7
Baladeva 11
Balārjunadeva 36.7
Mānadeva 36

Condur Deo 27
Jye Deo 42.7
Bul Deo 11
Ballunjoon Deo 36.7
[???

Kandradeva 27
Jayadeva 42.7
Mānadeva 36

Note: The fragmentary Vamśāvalī at Kaisher Library begins with (Rudrade)va only.

Burjap

Kalmuk The Thakurīs

VN has
60th Vikram + Narend

No Gunakamadev

Patan + Burjap

Kalmuk

Gopālarājavamśāvalī

Kaisher Vamśāvalī

Abridged Vamśāvalī

Kirkpatrick

Rāghavadeva 43.6
Jayadeva 10
Vikramadeva 8.9
Narendradeva 1.6
Gūṇakāmadeva 85.6
Udayadeva 5.5
Lakṣmīkāmadeva 21
Vijayadeva 31

Rāghavadeva 63.6
Saṅkaradeva 18.6
Sahadeva 33.9
Narendradeva 1.6
Gūṇakāmadeva 85.6
Udayadeva 6
Nirbhayadeva 5
Bhojadeva+Rudra-
deva 9.7

Rāghavadeva 63.8
Saṅkaradeva 18.6
Sahadeva 33.9
Vikramadeva 1
Narendradeva 1.6*
Udayadeva 6
Nirbhayadeva 5
Bhojadeva+Rudra-
deva 9.7

Ragheed Deo 63
Seeker Deo 88.6
Soho Deo 33.9
Narrender Deo 1.6
Goonakam Deo 85.6
Oodoy Deo 6
Nurbhoy Deo 7
Bhaj Deo Budro 9.7

Bhāskaradeva 3
Balavantadeva 12
Padmadeva 6

Lakṣmīkāmadeva 21
Baladeva 12
Padmadeva 6

Lakṣmīkāmadeva 21
Jayadeva 20
Bhāskaradeva+
Jayadeva 7.4

Letchmi Camdeo Dutt
Jye Deo 20, reduced
refactory tribute
Bhāskara, of Pata

Nāgārjunadeva 2
Śaṅkaradeva 15
Vāmadeva 3
Harṣadeva 14
Śivadeva 27.7
Indradeva 15
Mānadeva 4
Narendradeva 6.5
Ā(nandadeva) 20
Rudradeva 8.1
Amṛtadeva 3.11
Someśvaradeva 4
Gūṇakāmadeva 3

Nāgārjunadeva 3
Śaṅkaradeva 17
Vāmadeva 3
Harṣadeva 16
Śivadeva 27.7
Indradeva 12
Mānadeva 4
Narendradeva 6.5
Nandadeva 20
Rudradeva 8.1
Amṛtadeva 3.11
Someśvaradeva 3
Gūṇakāmadeva (?)
(Crowned NS 305
Pauṣa Sudi 7,
Sunday)

Baladeva 12
Padmadeva 6
Nāgārjunadeva 3
Saṅkaradeva 17
Vāmadeva 3
Harṣadeva 16
Śivadeva 27.7
Indradeva 12
Mānadeva 4.7
Narendradeva 6.4
Anandadeva 20
Amṛtadeva 3.11
Someśvaradeva 6.3
(Crowned NS 299
Kārtik Kṛṣṇa 6,
Friday)

Ooday Deo 7.1
Bull Deo 12
Puddiem Deo 6
Naug Arjoon 3
Bam Deo 3
Sree Hurkh Deo 16
Seo Deo 27.7
Indro Deo 12
Maun Deo 4.7
Nurrender Deo 6.4
Rudro Deo 80.1
Omret Deo 3.11
Someesur Deo 6.3

Vijayakāmadeva 7

Vijayakāmadeva 6.7

Vijayakāmadeva 50.7 Buz Caum Deo (Unknown)

mabars.

No Runder
has

No Anand
has

The Early Mallas

<i>Gopālarājavarṣāvalī</i>	<i>Kaisher Varṣāvalī</i>	<i>Abridged Varṣāvalī</i>	<i>Kirkpatrick</i>
Ari Malla 25.10	Arimalladeva 31.9	Arimalla 31.9	Any Mull 31.9
Abhaya Malla 42.6	Abhaya Malla 48.2	Abhaya Malla 48.2	Obhay Mull 48.2
Jayadeva 2.8	Jayadeva 2.7	Jayadeva 2.7	Jey Deb 2.7
Bhimadeva 13.7			
Jayasiha Malla 2.7			
Ananta Malla 32.10	Ananta Malla 32.10	Ananta Malla 32.10	Unwunt Mull Deo 32.10
Anandadeva (?)	Anandadeva (?)	Anandadeva (?)	Jye Nund Deo (?)
Arimalla 24.6 (?)	Arimalla	Arimalla	Jye Singh Mull/Jye Ruero Mull
(Crowned NS 440, Caitra Kṛṣṇa 12) (died in an earthquake on Āśvina Śukla 7, 464 (Sept. 14, 1344)			Naik Deby+Harir Chunder Deo, Rajah of Banares
Rājadeva 12.5 (?)	Rājadeva		Raj Letchmi, deposed by Jye Dub, deposed by Hurr Singh Deo, Rajah of Semroun Ghur in December 1323
(Crowned NS 467, Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 4 died in a fire, NS 481 Māgha Kṛṣṇa 8/ Jan. 30, 1361)	(Crowned NS 464, Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 4) (Brings the dynasty of Nānyadeva and his successors upto Sthitirājamalla)	(Brings the dynasty of Nānyadeva and his successors, upto Sthitirājamalla)	(Brings the dynasty of Nānyadeva and his successors upto Sthitirājamalla)
Arjunadeva			
(Crowned Vaiśākha Śukla 2, 480 died, NS 502 Māgha Kṛṣṇa 5)			
Sthitirājamalla			
(NS 502, died NS 515 Bhādra Kṛṣṇa 6)			

The Chronology of Nepalese Kings

This positive chronology is pieced together by collating three main sources -- inscriptions, manuscript colophons, and chronicles.

Our sources for the Licchavis are limited to their inscriptions. For the four centuries of their documented rule, we have nearly 200 inscriptions. This number is, however, misleading as most of the inscriptions are fragmentary and short, containing little or no historical information. The ones containing historical data are not evenly distributed either.

The first ancient inscriptions of Nepal were published a century ago. Controversies still persist on the interpretation of their chronology, particularly on the assignment of two different sets of eras used in these inscriptions to the known epoch eras. The first set of inscriptions is dated between 386-526/535 years; the second set is dated between 29-301 years. The present consensus of opinions among scholars is that the first set is dated according to Śaka Era (founded in A.D. 78) whereas the second set is dated according to Mānadeva Era (founded in A.D. 576). All eras in use in ancient and medieval Nepal are Kārttikādi, i.e., begin on the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika (ca. ± October 20).

However, this interpretation of ancient Nepalese chronology has yet to confront an almost insurmountable problem--the problem of interpreting the data of intercalated months available in Licchavi inscriptions. In this connection, Petech's caveat is worth recollecting,

"By no Siddhānta, by no system, with no era, can we get intercalations at the intervals stated in the (Licchavi inscriptions)."
Luciano Petech, "The Chronology of the Early Inscriptions of Nepal", *East and West* XII:2 (December, 1961), p. 230.

What we call the positive chronology of Licchavi kings is thus a shaky list of about 25 names and 30 dates.

For the 320 year rule of the Thakurīs we have 24 short, unrevealing, and fragmentary inscriptions. The chronology for this period is pieced together with the help of manuscript colophons. Mercifully, Nepalese scribes noted down, not only the time and place of copying of manuscripts, but also the name of the reigning king. The chronology of "the dark period of Nepalese history" is thus a skeleton structure of 30 names and 45 dates, a few of which are compiled from the chronicles.

Only 18 inscriptions of any consequence have survived from 255-195- year rule of the early Mallas. Some of their dates are collated from colophons. At this point, however, the chronicles become richer in detail and genealogical data.

Kamal P. Malla

[Jayadeva I]			AD 25
[12 un-named kings]			
[Vṛṣadeva]	57		AD 825 - 382
[Śaṅkaradeva]	40		AD 883 - 422
[Dharmadeva]	41		AD 428 - 463
Mānadeva	41	Śaka Era 386-427 (AD 464-505)	
[Mahideva]	41 ? = 1 ?		506 ?
Vasantadeva	39	428-454	
Vāmanadeva		460	7
Rāmadeva		467	
Gaṇadeva	45	482-487	= 27 ?
Gaṅgādeva		489	- 9
[Mānadeva III]		[498	Founder of a new Era AD 576]
Śivadeva I	416	512-526/535	- 613
Aṃśuvarṃā	48	Mānadeva Era	29- 44
Udayadeva			45
Dhruvadeva-Jiṣṇugupta		48- 49	
Bhīmārjunadeva-Jiṣṇugupta		55- 57	
Bhīmārjunadeva-Viṣṇugupta		64- 65	
Narendradeva	34/35/37	67-103	
Śivadeva II	16	118-129	
Jayadeva II	17	137-157	
Mānadeva III	16	180	
Balīrāja	21.5	250	
Baladeva	11	271	
Mānadeva IV	36	301 (AD 878)	

Śaṅkaradeva II 172

70 years

50 years

Apr 13, Sunday

The Thakurīs
NS 1/AD 879--NS 320/AD 1200

[Rāghavadeva]	ca. NS 1-39	Founder of Nepāla Saṃvat on Thursday, October 20, 879.
Śaṅkaradeva		Bhādra Śukla 15, 40
[Jayadeva]		
[Vikramadeva]		
Guṇakāmadeva		Māgha 107-110
Narendradeva-Udayadeva		Mārga Śukla 15, 119
Udayadeva		Caitra Kṛṣṇa 12, 124
Nirbhayadeva		Caitra Śukla 13, 125
Nirbhayadeva-Rudradeva		Phālgua Śukla, 128
Bhojadeva		Jyēṣṭha Śukla 2, 131
Rudradeva-Bhojadeva		Prathamāṣāḍha Śukla, 13, 132
Rudradeva-Bhojadeva-Lakṣmīkāmadeva		Caitra Śukla 10, 135
Lakṣmīkāmadeva		Śravaṇa Śukla 2, 144-Vaiśākha Śukla 3, 159
[Vijayadeva]		The ruler of "Half-Kingdom of Lalitpur" (V ₁ 23b:3; VK3:3)
Bhāskaradeva		Śrāvaṇa Śukla 10, 165-Āśvina Kṛṣṇa 6, 167
Baladeva		Māgha Śukla 8, 172-Māgha Kṛṣṇa 3, 180
Pradyumnakāmadeva		Jyēṣṭha Kṛṣṇa 11, 183-Māgha Kṛṣṇa 10, 186
Nāgārjunadeva		188 -- ?
Śaṅkaradeva		Āṣāḍha Śukla 3, 189-Caitra Śukla 15, 202
Vāmadeva		Bhādra Kṛṣṇa, 204- ?
Harṣadeva		Vaiśākha Śukla 15, 207-Phālgua Śukla 13, 217
Śivadeva		219-246 (V ₁ 24a:3)
Indradeva		Āṣāḍha Kṛṣṇa 8, 247-Kārttika Śukla 5, 256
Mānadeva		Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa 13, 258-Kārttika Śukla 15, 260
Narendradeva		Phālgua Śukla 6, 254- Dvipauṣa Śukla 11, 265
Ānandadeva		the founder of the Kingdom of Bhakta- pur; crowned on Māgha Kṛṣṇa 1, 267 (V ₁ 24b:5) Prathamāṣāḍha Kṛṣṇa 5, 267-Phālgua Śukla 11, 286; died 287 ?

Rudradeva 84
 Amṛtadeva 34
 Someśvaradeva 4
 Guṇakāmadeva 3
 Lakṣmikāmadeva 2
 Vijayakāmadeva 7

Pauṣa Kṛṣṇa 13, 287 (VK7:6-7 has 267, which is evidently a scribal error) Crowned; Mārga Śukla 15 (Agrahāyana Pūrṇimā) 295

Vaiśākha Śukla 3, 295-Bhādra Kṛṣṇa 9, 299 (V₁31b:4)

Kārttika Kṛṣṇa 6, 299 (VK8:2) Crowned; Kārttika Śukla 2, 301

Pauṣa Śukla 7, 305 (VK8:6) Crowned 307 Phālguna Kṛṣṇa 6

Kārttika Kṛṣṇa 313-Śrāvaṇa Śukla 3, 317

Vaiśākha Śukla 3, 312-Māgh Śukla Śauridivasa 320.

The Early Mallas
NS 321/AD 1200 — NS 515/AD 1395

Arimalla

Karttika Śukla 10, 321 - Jyēṣṭha
Kṛṣṇa 7, 336

Abhayamalla

Jyēṣṭha Śukla 15, 337 - Āṣāḍha Śukla
8, 375

Jayadeva

Āṣvina Kṛṣṇa 2, 374 (V₁ 39a:3)
Mārga Śukla 15, 377 (V₁ 37b:1-2)
Crowned twice? Ruled for 2 years
and 7/8 months Bhādra 377

Jayabhīmadeva

Caitra Śukla 5, 380 -
Pauṣa Śukla 12, 390⁴

Jayasimhamalla

Āṣvina 10, 391 - ?

Jayānantamalla

Caitra Śukla 9, 395 - Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa
13, 428

Jayānandamalla

Vaiśākha Kṛṣṇa 9, 434 - Śrāvaṇa
Śukla 1, 438

Jayārimalla

Caitra Kṛṣṇa 12, 440 (V₂ 44a:2) Crowned;
Āṣvina Śukla 8, 464, died in
a great earthquake in Devpātan (V₂ 51a:1)

The Throne of Nepal Vacant ?

Āṣvina Śukla 8, 464 - Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa
3, 467. VK (13:7), however, shows
that Jayarājadeva was already crowned,
with the consent of both the Royal
Houses, on Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 4, 464. This
must be a scribal error for 467 as
Jayārimalla, the legitimate ruler,
was still alive till Āṣvina Śukla 7,
464

Jayarājadeva

Śrāvaṇa Kṛṣṇa 4, 467 (V₁ 28b:1-2)
Crowned with the consent of both the
Royal Houses - Māgha Kṛṣṇa 8, 481 -

Jayārjunadeva

Vaiśākha Śukla 2, 480 (?) - Māgha
Kṛṣṇa 5, 502 (died in the Kwātha
Chem confinement)

Jayasthitirājamalla

Māgha Kṛṣṇa 5, 502 - Bhādra Kṛṣṇa
6, 515.
